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12 September 1983

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## GOVERNMENT SAYS PIPELINE BEING BUILT THROUGH SAUDI ARABIA

Kuwait ARAB OIL in English No 8, Aug 83 p 38

[Text]

**A** new Iraqi oil pipeline is now being built through Saudi territory to the Red Sea to pump crude oil for export, according to a government spokesman.

He said that the present oil pipeline running through Syria will be closed permanently. This pipeline pumps about one million barrels of oil a day. A part of this oil was consumed by Syria and Lebanon.

The new pipeline scheme was laid after Syria's decision to stop pumping of Iraqi crude came soon after the war began.

He said that Iraq is also studying a plan to extend the Jordanian pipeline to the Port of Aqaba and the Red Sea. This will increase the exporting capacity of Iraqi crude to Turkey, he added.

Iraq has been seeking agreement with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to facilitate crude oil exports through a pipeline to either Yanbu on the Red Sea or a Kuwait terminal on the Gulf, the Kuwaiti newspaper Al-Qabas reported last month.

It said that Iraqi-Saudi-Kuwaiti talks were held secretly in Kuwait recently to explore the feasibility of the Iraqi request.

The meeting, it said, was designed to help Iraq increase its exports of crude oil as a means of consolidating its steadfastness against Iran.

The Iraqi Oil Minister, Qassem Taqi, met in Kuwait with his Kuwaiti counterpart Sheikh Ali Khalifa Al-Sabah and an unidentified Saudi oil official to discuss the world oil market situation in general and the Iraqi request for a new pipeline in particular.

**Reserves**

Iraq has been exerting itself with exploration operations to increase its proven re-

serves of crude oil, the the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) reported

It said that Iraq's known reserves of crude oil have been increased by 38 percent during 1982, with these reserves now officially put at 41 billion barrels.

The OAPEC June bulletin also said that Iraq's daily average production of crude oil during 1982 stood at 987,000 barrels.

More than two and a half years after the Gulf war started, Iraq's oil exports have limped to an average 700,000 barrels a day, less than a quarter as much as before the war, it was reported.

A Weekly Newsletter, the Washington report on Middle East Affairs, said the only outlet for Iraqi oil now is through the pipeline that goes through Turkey.

The Weekly said these exports are currently netting about \$7 billion a year — "a rather modest sum in view of the \$1 billion a month that Iraq is spending for the war alone."

Iraq's reserves have dropped from \$35 billion to something around \$5 billion, the Weekly Newsletter said."

**Debts**

France's two state-controlled oil companies Elf Aquitaine and Cie Francaise Des Petroles (CFP) are to absorb Iraqi crude oil in a government-to-government deal to cover some of Iraq's heavy debt to France, it was announced last month.

The two companies will take a total of 80,000 barrels of Iraqi crude daily for the next 12 months under the agreement signed in Baghdad, June 12, CFP said.

The agreement was signed despite reservations by the two companies which are having



problems absorbing crude imported under existing long-term contracts because of reduced domestic demand, industry sources said.

Iraq will use the proceeds to pay some of its outstanding debt to France, estimated at \$2.26 billion of which \$1.06 billion are for arms purchases.

The contract obliges each company to lift 40,000 barrels daily of Kirkuk crude. At the current official price for Kirkuk-Ceyhan crude of \$29.43 per barrel this would make the overall deal worth \$860 million.

CFP officials said pricing arrangements are being kept secret, but industry sources indicated that 45,000 of the 80,000 barrels to be lifted daily would be paid for at the official price and the remaining 35,000 barrels at the spot market price. Kirkuk crude is currently selling on the spot market at a one dollar discount.

Industry observers said the terms could upset Iraq's partners in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) who have pledged to avoid undercutting each other.

The crude will be delivered to the Turkish port of Dortyol at the end of the Kirkuk-Ceyhan pipeline.

For many years, Iraq was France's second-biggest supplier of crude after Saudi Arabia. In 1982, however, France imported only one million tons of Iraqi crude and has not taken any so far this year.

## NATION HAS CREDITORS OVER BARREL

London ARAB BANKING & FINANCE in English No 6, Aug 83 pp 25-26

[Article by Jonathan Crusoe and Julia Bright: "Problems, Problems"]

## [Text]

Across the country Iraqis have been queuing up to donate their savings to the war effort. Cash, insurance policies, jewellery and family heirlooms are all grist to the mill. By early July it was estimated that about 20 tonnes of gold, worth some \$265 million, had been collected - reportedly to be used (together with the proceeds from the new Rafidain lottery) to support the dinar, which has fallen sharply since the start of the war almost three years ago.

Just as families now queue to offer their savings to the state, so contractors, export credit agencies and anxious government delegations have also been lining up to discuss loans and credits - usually on not very favourable terms. "The Iraqis don't see it as their problem but as everyone else's," one London banker told *ARF*. "They say, 'No, the problem is yours, not ours, because it's you who haven't been paid'."

"The Iraqis hold all the aces," says another London banker. "If the export credit agencies come up with the goods, then the Iraqis can afford to deal on those terms. If not - and the contractor himself is unable to find the necessary funding - then it's 'bye-bye, you've been paid for most of your work, come back again in two years. If you don't want to stay, don't expect any new work and don't expect payment either. The problem is that

contractors know they are looking at a potential \$24,000 million-a-year country. They must stay friendly, grin and bear it, or get out."

David Douglas-Home, director of London's Morgan Grenfell & Company which is currently negotiating financing packages for UK contractors, puts it like this: "No one likes pulling people off site and no one wants to walk away from a signed deal. If you slam in a claim that could mean the end of the road for a company in a particular country, it's a major decision with damaging consequences."

The war is generally estimated to be costing Iraq about \$1,000 million a month and is putting a severe strain on the country's financial resources at a time when it is also committed to an economic development programme estimated by one West German banker at some \$50,000 million.

### The crunch

The warning signs were apparent to contractors by the end of last year and by early 1983 many firms were struggling with a series of problems. Foreign currency payments were being delayed for up to four months and, although local dinar payments were made on time as usual, the overseas value of the dinar had

been devalued by some 50% by the war.

One of the first companies to find the necessary funding was the Netherlands' Bredero International, which obtained a \$35.8 million loan from Amro Bank to fund the remaining foreign currency portion of work on its \$60 million housing contract in Baghdad. The loan was 85% backed by the Dutch export credit agency Nederlandsche Credietverzekering Maatschappij.

For some of the larger deals, oil has been the main medium of exchange. France will lift 80,000 barrels a day (b/d) as part payment for outstanding debts estimated at more than \$2,000 million. South Korean giant Hyundai Engineering & Construction Company is reported to have reached an oil barter arrangement and the two Japanese trading houses Marubeni Corporation and Mitsubishi Corporation have agreed to take oil in part payment. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are helping Iraq to meet its oil shipments.

The Italian construction group Asico has agreed to accept promissory notes, presentable after two years, for \$12 million. The government has also proposed that Filipinos working under direct contract take 60% of their salaries in dollar-denominated promissory notes, also payable after two years.

Marubeni has agreed, on behalf of five Japanese firms, to let Iraq defer for two years its payment of \$191 million due in 1983, at an annual interest rate of 8¼%. Tokyo has declined to get involved in government-to-government negotiations, preferring to let the trading houses solve their own problems.

The French government, however, has been closely involved in negotiations regarding debt repayments and future payments on behalf of French contractors and arms suppliers. Paris is now negotiating a \$1000 million package to cover payments due to French suppliers in 1983. In any case, as a French barter told *AME*, the Iraqis have paid up a substantial proportion – around 80% – of payments due from 1982, but against assurances of financing for uncompleted parts of the projects concerned.

The UK's ECGD came back from talks in Baghdad earlier this year without having reached agreement on buyers credit. Morgan Grenfell then stepped in to try and provide financing alternatives for UK companies – whose payments due now total about \$200 million. Douglas-Home claims that the bank's financing contracts will eventually cover that figure, "though we won't, of course, take it all on our books. There are plenty of banks which are very deal-orientated, because deals are all about client relationships. So we don't expect problems with syndicating this amount."

Fellow director Peter Davies adds he is hopeful the contract for John Laing International – the first with the Iraqis for a UK client – will be signed by the beginning of August. The framework agreement on this supplier credit basis was signed in Baghdad in June and as of mid-July the documentation was being given the final touches. A separate agreement is being worked out with Patterson Candy International, Hawker Siddeley and APE Allen and there is talk of a further deal being negotiated soon.

West Germany's export credit agency Hermes is estimated to have insurance obligations worth \$10,000 million for companies working in Iraq. Recently Hermes has extended cover to a few companies whose payments fall due in 1983. Repayment is in four half-yearly instalments with one year's grace. A Hermes official emphasised that each case will be dealt with on its own merits and on condition that Iraq meets all its 1982 arrears. Further such deals are imminent.

German contractors continue to negotiate with Iraq direct and on an individual basis because Bonn, like Tokyo, will not get involved. Hermes will extend cover provided its guidelines are followed. "It is upon this offer and this framework that companies have to negotiate," an Economics Ministry spokesman told *AME*. "But they are free to accept unfavourable conditions if they feel this is desirable. It's a question of



calculations of each company's own interest and what is at stake."

The first West German construction company to reach agreement was Heilit & Woerner Bau (H&W). A buyer credit accord was signed by its client, Baghdad municipality, with AKA Ausfuhrkredit (a consortium of 55 West German banks) which covers about one-third of the value of H&W's \$351 million worth of projects in Baghdad.

### Case-to-case

Other German firms continue to work under their own funds. "The strong construction companies have no problem in finding domestic financing," says Commerzbank general manager Friedhelm Jost. "The problem now is that financing costs for companies are higher than those being reimbursed by Iraq. It is not the liquidity of the contracting companies that is the concern, but the Iraq risk. We are helping as much as we can, but we have our country limits too. One doesn't enter into commitments easily. It is all done on a case-to-case basis."

This case-to-case basis, rather than an across-the-board deal, is of some help to West German firms which are not covered by Hermes. Comments the Economics Ministry spokesman: "The banks are willing to give credit - but only if Hermes gives the guarantee. Specific house banks may come up with extra credit if the amounts are not so high, but this is up to the private sector. Each case is treated separately."

Jost feels "it is always much more difficult to renegotiate contracts when the circumstances have changed - for example, if a customer decided to enter a contract in the first instance in spite of a war."

A spokesman for Strabag Bau - working on the Basra airport project - which is not covered by Hermes because

Basra is in a war-risk area, agrees with Jost. "It is very, very difficult for companies not covered by Hermes to get backing from banks." Adds Jost: "Our agreement to offer financing depends finally on the bank-client relationship and the type of project in Iraq, as well as the attitude of Hermes. Iraq is certainly a worse risk now, but a risk which is acceptable."

Germany's Economics Ministry is more pessimistic. "I don't feel positive about Iraq," the spokesman told *WU*. "I have the impression that funds are more and more lacking in Iraq - in spite of goodwill they simply can't pay. What is left in the chest is very little and they are very careful indeed as to how it is distributed. I'm afraid the situation has worsened considerably."

Iraq's intention to continue a war of attrition will further drain Iraq's reserves, estimated by one West German banker to have now fallen to below \$4,000 million. "The question as we see it," says Jost, "is that Iraq has run down its reserves so drastically that recovery can only take place if the war ends and the oil starts flowing."

Once the war ends, Iraq could resume shipping oil through temporary Gulf terminals. Otherwise, the situation may be eased slightly by increasing the capacity of the oil export pipeline through Turkey which is due to come on stream in early 1984.

Iraq will also maintain strict controls on imports, which have accounted for about \$10,000 million a year and are only just covered by foreign currency payments of some \$8,000 million-9,000 million a year. There is little foreign food in the shops and the private sector is finding it difficult to get import licences. According to Austrian Federal Economic Chamber, Iraq has been asking for up to three years' supply credit.

Any new development projects will now require forward financing. The

government now wants an extension on two development loans totalling \$1500 million which the Japanese government offered in the mid-1970s. It has already received a \$10.5 million loan from Islamic Development Bank to fund hospital work.

Many feel that only Iraq's neighbours – to whom it is already in debt to the tune of at least \$20,000 million – can help the country to stay afloat. Iraq's President Saddam Hussain criticised "some Arabs" for their reluctance to provide more financial support for Iraq, but it seems unlikely that similar-sized funding will be forthcoming, although Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are helping to meet Iraq's oil commitments.

As far as the contractors are concerned, the likelihood of Iraq returning to its former status as a cash client is far away. "Because of the oil quotas which Iraq has accepted under OPEC – only 1.3 million b/d, about \$13,000 million – they do not have as much money as before," one West German contractor says. "It will be a long time and conditions must seriously improve." For Morgan Grenfell's Douglas-Home, it is more cut and dried: "Once they can produce oil again, they'll be a cash client again." □

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## COMPOSITION, ACTIVITIES OF POPULAR ARMY DISCUSSED

Baghdad THE BAGHDAD OBSERVER in English 27 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Basim Muftin: "Gulf War Improves Popular Army Battle Tactics"]

[Text]

**The Gulf war has enriched the experience of the Iraqi Popular Army in terms of both field tactics and the command of the military operations.**

Originally founded to perform limited tasks at the home front, as is the case with almost all the militias in the world, the Iraqi Popular Army has developed military and disciplinary traditions matching up those upheld by the well trained and organised regular armies.

In terms of logistics, the Iraqi Popular Army has manifested brilliant performance, clearly shown throughout the 35-month old war with Iran when small units of the Popular Army used to contain the enemy first attacking waves — thus giving an ample opportunity to regular army units to launch well-organised counter-attacks.

In these battles, the Popu-

lar Army showed a high capability of rapid deployment necessitated by the nature of the combat missions, and a good control of fire which, in most cases, blunted the enemy's offensives and robbed the enemy the opportunity of taking advantage of the surprise element in the war.

Foreign military experts and analysts affirmed that Iraqi Popular Army showed good command and manoeuvring tactics in the Gulf war, which are worthy of deep study and consideration to come out with lessons highly useful for other militias in the world.

They also observed that the Popular Army units have developed a good use of modern weapons which are usually used by regular armies and not by militias. Thus, they affirmed, the striking power of the Iraqi Popular Army should be

taken into account when it comes to assess the military balance in the region.

The assignment of such great military tasks to the Popular Army fighters pressed for a drastic change in the military training programmes and armament of these fighters.

The Popular Army was founded in 1970, two years after the inception of July 17 Revolution, as a paramilitary organisation to defend the country and to be the rearback of the regular army.

According to the Central Report of the Ninth Congress of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, all the factors that led to the failure of the National Guard! experiment in 1963, were taken into consideration when a decision was taken to found the Popular Army.

The report pointed out that a plan was laid by the leadership, and personally supervised by President Saddam Hussein, to build the Popular Army formations and develop their combat and tactical capabilities.

Up to 1978 the Popular Army units were composed only of Ba'thists, but after this date, all other citizens began voluntarily joining the Popular Army, and their numbers doubled ten times after the start of the gulf war.

The Popular Army experiment has got more momentum when women began in 1974 joining the Popular Army formations. The experiment was also extended to cover the Autonomy Region.

According to the Central Report, a five-year plan was laid in 1981 to increase the number of the Popular Army fighters to some 500,000. But due to the war conditions, this number was realised by the end of 1982.

The Report elaborated that the war against Iranian aggression provided the need to develop the combat abilities of the Popular Army formations which have dug in positions along all the war sectors. All the Popular Army fighters there are considered as soldiers carrying

out all the battle duties at their sectors.

President Saddam Hussein said that the participation of the Popular Army fighters in the military operations beyond the borders of the country was considered the first task ever carried out by such militia all over the world.

Indeed, from the very first days of the war, the Popular Army fighters participated in large numbers in the military operations which took place on the Iranian territories. These fighters held thousands of kilometres of Iranian territories taken by the Iraqi armed forces to keep Iraqi border cities and villages far from the Iranian artillery shelling.

These fighters also held strong positions in the Iranian cities taken by Iraqi forces, and this act by itself required high fighting skills and good experience in the war of cities. Thus they gave a good support for the regular forces which, by virtue of their experience and nature of training were assigned the task of pushing back Iranian forces massed at the borders between the two countries.

Due to their participation in these military operations, the Popular Army units have developed their fighting ex-

perience which is further deepened by enhancement of training techniques during the 35-month old war.

According to the Commander-in-Chief of the Popular Army, Mr Taha Yassin Ramadhan, the training programmes are laid in compliance with the requirements of the war, which has a direct impact on the development of the training standards and the good use of weapons. He pointed out that in conformity with the requirements of the battlefield and the instructions of the concerned military authorities, new sophisticated weapons are now used by the Popular Army fighters.

The Central Report said that sophisticated weapons like the 82 mm calibre mortar guns and 57-mm calibre anti-aircraft guns are efficiently used by the Popular Army units. Thus the Popular Army now is a very strong force that provides a heavy fire power in support of the regular troops.

As far the Commanders of these units, Mr Ramadhan elaborated, they receive special training to increase their command abilities in accord-

ance with field requirements. Of course, the regular army officers and non-commissioned officers carry out and supervise the training of the Popular Army units and, according to the central report, they command some of these units.

The participation of the Popular Army fighters in the war along with the regular troops has deepened the mutual respect and coordination between them, and has never led to competition as is the case between the militias and the regular armies in other countries, and Iran is an illuminating example for this struggle.

While large numbers of the Popular Army fighters are holding positions at the battle fronts, others are on standby at the home front on a large-scale. Thus, they guard important economic, military and strategic projects. They also work together with regular anti-aircraft units inside the country.

According to the Commander-in-Chief, the Popular Army units are expanded after the war to include Arab citizens from other countries

who have volunteered to defend Iraq against the Iranian aggression. Mr Ramadhan explained that from the practical point of view Arab volunteers took part from the first month of the war including large numbers of Egyptian brothers.

Mr Ramadhan went on to say that compared with the huge population density in the Arab Homeland, the number of Arab volunteers in the war, is relatively few. Despite this fact, he added, Iraqis appreciated this participation which would create a new outlook towards the present conditions through which the Arab Nation is passing.

He further pointed out that this participation would give the Arab youth a good opportunity to know more about the experiment of the Popular Army in Iraq, since they receive the same training programmes and they use the equipment used by Iraqi fighters. This is very important, he explained, because when conditions are appropriate, all Arab countries would make use of the Popular Army experiment in Iraq.



PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

OPPOSITION GROUP LEADER INTERVIEWED

Cairo AL-WAHDAH in Arabic 15 May 83 pp 6-8

[Interview with Shaykh Muhammad Bu Bakr Bin 'Ajrumah, a leader of the National Grouping of Patriotic Forces in South Yemen, by Muhammad Shudari; date and place not specified; Cairo AL-WAHDAH in Arabic; monthly organ of the National Grouping of Popular Forces in South Yemen]

[Text] Shaykh Muhammad Bu Bakr Bin 'Ajrumah is one of the principal leaders in the "National Grouping of Patriotic Forces in South Yemen." He quietly and silently plays an essential role in nationalist activity. Shaykh Muhammad is a pioneer. He was one of the first to take up arms in resistance to British colonialism in al-'Awaliq after 1954. At that time he participated with his comrades in the "League of the Arab South" by announcing armed resistance against the British interference and presence in al-'Awaliq. He participated in dozens of battles which demonstrated his toughness and the strength of his practice and his patriotism.

Today he is involved in another struggle, this time against the Marxist regime in South Yemen. Shaykh Muhammad Bu Bakr Bin 'Ajrumah spoke to AL-WAHDAH about political matters in the region, as well as about patriotic activity in the ranks of the opposition, and about the Marxist regime in South Yemen which has been imposed on the people by the power of iron and fire and is supported by the bayonets of foreign forces.

In this interview, he confirms that the basic issue, above and beyond all else, is "between our people in the south and the ruling regime which has been imposed upon it."

He defines the Grouping's position on any possible dialogue with the regime in Aden by saying: "The Grouping will accept a dialogue with the regime which is based on firm foundations."

He rejects the strategic alliances which exist between the regime in Aden and the Soviet Union and other nations. He says, "These alliances threaten the states and peoples of the region."

[Question] I asked him the following question: Now, three years after the founding of the National Grouping of Patriotic Forces in the South of Yemen, which has gained a real presence on the Yemeni scene, how do you view the tasks of the Grouping three years after its founding?

[Answer] The circumstances in which the Grouping was founded were unusual. We praise God that the patriotic forces realized their responsibility and unified within one patriotic framework. Despite the fact that three years have passed since the Grouping came into being, we still feel that we are at the stage of founding it. A proposal has been drawn up for a national charter and a working program. This year, 1983, the National Council which will comprise a large number of strugglers and nationalists opposed to the Marxist regime in South Yemen, will be set up.

The Grouping has since its very founding taken strong steps in the areas of political and information activities. We have contacted a number of Arab states and international organizations. Most Arab countries have come to realize the dangerous nature of the regime in South Yemen, despite what it claims with regard to achieving reconciliation with them. All that is just a brittle delusion. In the information field, we are busy in more than one area and kind of activity. AL-WAHDAH magazine has become the voice speaking for the Grouping and the meeting place for many Arab and Yemeni political writers. AL-WAHDAH has transmitted a great deal of news of detailed sense and meaning. In addition, it has disclosed many of the regime's maneuvers against our people inside the country and against the states of the region. Among the things it has published was the text of the Tripartite Aden Agreement. In addition, it discussed a number of issues which have stimulated interest both at home and abroad. The sons of the South have come to be interested in this informative voice. Information activity will expand in the future, and political activity will increase from now on.

#### Arab Mediation

[Question] What is your evaluation of the mediation efforts undertaken by the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait between the Sultanate of Oman and South Yemen? Do you think the regime in South Yemen is serious about reconciliation?

[Answer] Since independence, the ruling Marxist regime in South Yemen has taken an inimical position vis-a-vis the neighboring Arab peoples and governments, as well as all the Arab Gulf states. Since that time, the regime has clearly taken a position of enmity toward the Sultanate of Oman.

Mediation attempts by the Gulf states have been in progress since independence, with the goal of achieving a settlement between the regime and the Sultanate of Oman in particular, but they have not worked out. Recently, as a definite result of factors and variables, and because the Aden regime has found that it has reached the end of a blocked road both internally and externally, mediation activity between the regime in

South Yemen and the Sultanate of Oman in particular has picked up since a year ago. It seems that in recent months the mediation has achieved semi-definite results.

What we want to say here is that, despite these mediation efforts, we think that the basic issue, above and beyond all else, is between our people in the South and the ruling regime which controls them. Whatever the result of mediation or of detente may be, the problem will continue to exist as long as the ruling regime continues its policy and manner. The style which the regime is following with regard to detente between itself and the Sultanate comes less from within than it does from without, from the foreign powers whose orders the regime obeys and whose instructions it carries out. These powers have discovered that their interest lies in creating a foothold for themselves in the region, and they have found in the South Yemeni regime someone to implement their policy. I do not think that detente between the Sultanate of Oman and South Yemen will be successful in the long run. It has been clear till now that the Soviet Union is still supporting its military centers in South Yemen. There is no doubt that this presence threatens stability and security in the region.

Will the Regime in Aden Retreat at Home and Abroad?

[Question] Some Arab newspapers mention from time to time that the regime in South Yemen has been retreating both domestically and abroad. What do you think about these reports? To what degree are they correct?

[Answer] Up until now, we have not noticed any retrenchment by the regime in South Yemen. Neither have our people in the country noticed any desirable change. It all boils down to the regime trying to make contact with certain elements to ask them to return as individuals. According to our information, even these elements have refused to return.

If no comprehensive change occurs in the structure of government and authority, and if the single-party system is not done away with, then nothing done by the regime can be called retrenchment. Rather, it is all just a matter of temporary tactics designed to create division in the ranks of the opposition and to fool some Arab states into thinking that the regime wants to change. However, its real goal is to fleece the Arab states and get more money, which it will spend on the weapons with which it threatens our people and the region. The regime is undertaking these maneuvers because it has felt the power of the opposition, as represented in the National Grouping of Patriotic Forces in South Yemen.

The Dialogue with the Regime

[Question] If the regime in South Yemen were to contact the Grouping in order to start a "dialogue," would you accept and enter into such a dialogue? What concessions would the Grouping ask from the regime?

[Answer] The Grouping would accept a dialogue with the regime in South Yemen if the dialogue rested on firm foundations. However, our position vis-a-vis the ruling regime in South Yemen is based on our doctrine, principles and goals. We can offer the following points as proof of the truth of our intentions:

- 1) No party or organization can oppress the others. There must be true national unity built on sound democratic foundations.
- 2) Work must proceed toward achieving the following goals:
  - a) achieving security and stability
  - b) justice
  - c) democracy
  - d) prosperity.
- 3) Before all that, we must care for and maintain the five principles or concepts which all divine systems of law and all human systems of law in the countries that respect themselves and care about protecting human dignity aim to guard. These principles are: the protection of the individual and of property, save when a greater right applies, of honor, of religion, and of the intellect.
- 4) A constitution must be composed (that is, a basic system of government) which will define the identity of the people of the south of Yemen, as well as its basic beliefs, in addition to providing for the various freedoms and delineating the three types of authority: legislative, judicial and executive. The constitution would also define the powers of each of these three branches of government.
- 5) A constitution and system of government must be set up which will be consistent with what humanity has achieved all over the world after long struggle and experimentation.
- 6) This principle must be laid down and implemented: nothing will be considered a crime unless it is so defined by the text of the law, and no one will be punished without a verdict, which in turn cannot be given except on the basis of the law and an independent judiciary.

#### These Are the Grouping's Goals

[Question] Many citizens living abroad are asking themselves what the Grouping's political goals are, as well as what the opposition rests on and what its major differences with the regime in South Yemen are.

[Answer] Before the Grouping, opposition in the South was in disarray. Since the Grouping was set up, the opposition has united and engaged in unified patriotic activity. Opposition in the South has moved into a new phase. The Grouping's goals were set forth in its founding declaration. They can be summarized as bringing down the Marxist regime in South Yemen, returning the country to its Arab and Islamic roots, and setting up a national government which would include various patriotic groups and be elected directly and democratically by the people.



In this decisive stage in our country's history, we confirm to our people that we will bear the burden of struggling and working with determination and devotion, in accordance with our doctrine, principles and goals, behind which the opposition has united within the framework of the National Grouping of Patriotic Forces in South Yemen.

We want to make clear to the sons of our people that we do not disagree with the regime simply because we want power. Rather, we disagree with it on many issues, the most important being doctrine and principles. Their doctrine is Marxist, while ours is Islamic. Their principles tell them to tie themselves to foreigners, while ours tie us to our people and to liberation, unity, and social justice. Our basic goals rest on achieving security, stability, justice, democracy and prosperity.

#### The Alliance Between South Yemen and the Soviet Union

[Question] The nature of the alliance between the regime in South Yemen and the Soviet Union is strategic. If an agreement were to be reached by the Grouping and the regime, would it be possible for the opposition to accept the principle of the strategic alliance with the Soviets?

[Answer] We welcome relations with all Arab and foreign countries without exception, including the Soviet Union. The current strategic alliance between the regime in Aden and the Soviet Union is contrary to the will of our Yemeni people in both the south and the north. Our people abhor these alliances. In our eyes, these rulers have no right to tie themselves to any foreign powers in any way at all, whether by alliance or by a military treaty. The current strategic alliance is between two unequal states. We consider it to be against our brothers in the Gulf states and the Arabian peninsula, because this alliance means air, land and sea bases which threaten the stability of the states and peoples of the region. Therefore, we reject strategic alliances and the presence of military bases in the region, be they Soviet or American.

#### Are There Disagreements Among the Authorities in Aden?

[Question] There are constantly domestic problems on the Yemeni scene which bespeak the existence of disagreements among the ruling factions in South Yemen. Do you think they are disputes about power, about ideology, or about the benefits and commissions of the foreign elements?

[Answer] There are no disagreements in that term's real sense. I can say that they are differences concerning the foreigners' benefits and commissions; they have nothing to do with the kind of change that would benefit the people of the South. All the factions that are vying with each other are linked to foreign powers and consider themselves a part of the world communist movement. We do not expect any good for the people of the South to come at the hands of these persons, for they are all the same. The people in power may change, but their ties to the foreigners continue and remain. What we want is comprehensive change and a free national will far removed from ties to foreign powers.



## The Alliance with Ethiopia

[Question] The regime in South Yemen is allied with Marxist Ethiopia. It claims that Ethiopia is friendly to the Arabs, and that use can be made of its strategic position. What do you think about that?

[Answer] When the regime in Aden makes an alliance with a state like Ethiopia, it is an alliance with a state following the same path and having the same principles. Everyone knows there is a military treaty between Ethiopia and South Yemen. This treaty is directed against the Arab states located on the shores of the Red Sea and the Arab Gulf. In addition, the two signatory countries are bound by treaty to the Soviet Union.

Ethiopia is supposed to be a claw in this region, just like South Yemen. South Yemen has worked together with Ethiopia in all the wars which the latter has fought and is still fighting against Somalia, our brother Arab, Muslim state. It has also cooperated with Ethiopia against the heroic Eritrean people, who have been resisting Ethiopian occupation for more than twenty years. The heads of the regime have admitted as much in their statements.

As for Ethiopia being a friend of the Arabs, that is ridiculous. The Arab states all know that Ethiopia is a friend of Israel and that Israel supplies it with weapons and experts in several fields. Moreover, Ethiopia meets with Israel. The regime in South Yemen has contacts with the Israeli communist party. How can the Arabs benefit from Ethiopia, Israel's friend and their arch-enemy?

## A Final Question

[Question] It has been noticed that the regime in South Yemen plays fast and loose with the issue of Yemeni unity. It refuses to let this unity be built on the basis of Islamic law. What is your feeling about Yemeni unity?

[Answer] The regime in South Yemen, like any Marxist regime, rejects unity with the Islamic half of the country because it wants a Marxist unity with the forces that profess loyalty to it and to which it is tied by a single ideology. We believe in the necessity of the unity of both halves of the Yemeni people, and we confirm that this unity must spring from the heart of the people and the foundations of Islamic law.

As far as we know, the political leadership in the northern half of the country wants unity to be based on this people's strength of character, as well as on its real circumstances and its magnificent history. We trust the political leadership in the northern half of the country not to renounce the great gains that have been achieved for the Yemeni people there, while it tries to achieve true Yemeni unity.

12224

CSO: 4404/475

PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

BRIEFS

SOVIET BASE ALLEGATION--Informed sources have revealed to AL-WAHDAH that the Soviet Union will soon build a huge Soviet naval base in South Yemen. These sources mentioned that the general commander of the Soviet war fleet, Admiral Sergei Gorshkov, visited South Yemen last March, with the purpose of reaching agreement on the base. The sources say that the Soviet admiral made a tour of a number of small ports on the southern coast in order to choose a suitable place for the base. They say as well that the details have been left to a number of technicians, who have stayed behind in 'Adan in order to do more studies of the project. These sources revealed as well that two or three places have been selected. The best and most suitable location will be picked only after all the studies are finished. The sources think the Soviets may have selected a small fishing harbor which lies on the coastal strip which extends to the borders of the Sultanate of Oman. The project studies began immediately after the political leadership in South Yemen had agreed in principle. [Text] [Cairo AL-WAHDAH in Arabic 15 May 83 p 5] 12224

CSO: 4404/475

## BRIEFS

REBEL BASE HIT--Islamabad, Aug. 4 (AFP)--Afghan troops backed by airborne Soviet forces scored a major victory against the rebels in the eastern Afghanistan last week by overrunning the guerrilla stronghold Tora Bora, resistance sources said Wednesday. A 200-vehicle force of tanks, trucks, and armored troop carriers swept through the rebel-dominated districts of Agam, Chapar Har and Bachir close to the Hezbe Islami resistance group's headquarter's at Tora Bora, 20 kms (12 miles) south of Jalalabad. Mujahedeen (Islamic fighter) sources said "fierce fighting" raged for three days during which guerrillas shot down a helicopter gunship and destroyed ten military vehicles. The helicopter fell on a Soviet-Afghan troops concentration in Agam, damaging two tanks. The Soviets dropped paratroops in the mountains surrounding Tora Bora. About 20 civilians were killed in Soviet bombings, the sources said. Tora Bora gained prominence when a Mujahedeen group led by Maulawi Yunus Kholes last year imprisoned a kidnaped senior Soviet advisor there, E.M. Okrim Yuk, and later executed him despite reported Red Cross intercession. [Text] [Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 4 Aug 83 p 3]

GUERRILLAS CLAIM VICTORIES--Islamabad, Aug. 3 (UPI)--Afghan guerrillas destroyed 25 armored vehicles and shot down two Soviet aircraft in stiff fighting last week northwest of Kabul, a Western diplomatic source said Tuesday. Eight helicopters (10 miles) northwest of the Afghan capital on July 27 after Soviet forces suffered some of their heaviest casualties of the year, the diplomat said. There was no mention of guerrilla casualties in the account of the fighting which could not be confirmed independently. The diplomat said one MIG bomber and one MI-24 helicopter gunship were downed by the resistance ground fire on July 23. Another helicopter was forced to land after it was hit. The resistance forces captured a pilot, a Soviet officer, a Soviet nurse, and an Afghan Communist Party official in the fighting, according to the diplomat. He said the guerrillas destroyed 25 armored personnel carriers and tanks with landmines and rockets. Both Soviets and guerrillas shifted forces from Paghman after the fighting, the diplomat said. [Text] [Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 4 Aug 83 p 3]

CSO: 4600/829

## COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON 'HINDRANCES' CREATED BY SAUDIS

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 2 Aug 83 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN, Aug 1 (IRNA) — The Ministry of Ershad Islami (Islamic Guidance) said in a communique here Sunday that the Saudi government has been trying to obstruct the travel of Iranian pilgrims to Mecca for Hajj, and in doing so it has committed every possible act to inconvenience and practically prevent Iranians from reforming their Hajj rituals this year.

The following are excerpts from the communique issued here Sunday.

"The Saudi government says that it will not prevent the travel to Saudi Arabia of any Iranian citizen. Why then does the Saudi government force the owners of houses and hotels to cancel the agreements signed for providing lodging to Iranian pilgrims? Why does the Saudi government insist that the number of Iran Air trips to Mecca and Medina be minimized? Why has it prevented the travel of a group of 60 Iranians to Saudi Arabia for preliminary arrangements for the pilgrims arrival there?

"Naturally by resorting to such artifice, the Saudi government intends to prevent Iranian pilgrims from going to Saudi Arabia. The Saudis' motivations for doing so are not unknown to us. Obvi-

ously the presence in Hajj ceremonies of about 100,000 Iranians will help the Muslims of the world realize the magnificence of the Islamic Revolution through first-hand information from Iranian pilgrims and realize the solidarity of the Iranian people with the Islamic government — A government which has been inspired by the will of the masses. The high morale of the Iranian pilgrims in Saudi Arabia will be a crucial answer to the nonsensical gossips of the eastern and western media and their dependent aides...

"The travel of a large group of Iranian pilgrims to Saudi Arabia will on the other hand be a proof of the political and economic stability of the Islamic Republic despite three years of war imposed on Iran by the ruling regime in Iraq, while everyone knows that the Iraqi regime relies heavily on western and eastern support as well as aids of the reactionary government of the region.

"The Saudi government is aware that if it allowed the travel thereto of about 100,000 Iranian pilgrims, the unanimous call of the Iranian pilgrims and their shouts of 'God is Great', 'death to the

superpowers', and 'death to Israel' in Mecca and Medina would threaten the security and the domination of the oppressive rulers. Likewise, the Saudi regime is loath to see Iran ranking first among Muslim countries in number of pilgrims. The Saudi government hates to see this honor granted to Iran. The Islamic Republic of Iran and all of the Iranian pilgrims, however, will utilize every possible means available to them in order to fulfill this divine invitation to visit the Kaaba and Holy Shrine of Prophet Mohammad (SAWA). God willing they will eventually triumph over the plots of the enemies of Islam.

"We would like to warn the world public, as well as the free Muslims and the Muslim governments against a massive plot being hatched by the government of Saudi Arabia. The Muslim people of the world are expected to fulfill their religious responsibilities in the face of this plot. We only need to declare that what is happening to the free Muslim people of Iran should alarm all the world Muslims. This indicates a hidden and ominous plot which is actually the dirty insinuations of the United States and the usurping Israel."

# AL-ASI COMMENTS ON 'SAUDI RESTRICTIONS ON IRANIAN PILGRIMS'

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Aug 83 p 2

[Text]

WASHINGTON, Aug 5 (IRNA) — Dreading the spread of the Islamic Revolution in the region, Saudi Arabia has imposed limitations on the Iranian pilgrims to the Hajj in Mecca, said the Friday prayers leader of a Washington D.C. Mosque in the U.S. Mohammad Al-Asi, in the interview with IRNA here said commenting on the recent measures employed by Saudi rulers, that such a move displayed the contradiction between the dynamic and progressive Islam and the reactionary version of Islam advocated by the Saudi rulers who are also the staunch supporters of the U.S. and Zionists.

Otherwise, he went on, Saudi Arabia would not have opposed the Muslims' protest against the U.S. and Zionist regime.

Al-Asi added that the Saudi imposition of a quota on the number of Iranian pilgrims was an unprecedented move.

Referring to the suppressive role of the Saudis towards Islamic movements in the region, he noted that the U.S. tried to quell the Islamic movements by projecting the Saudi rulers as the embodiment of true Islam, because the growth of Islamic movements was against their interests.

The Friday prayers leader further said the best way to resist the recent measures of these rulers was through a vigorous protest.

He added that the Saudi court clergy who have occupied the mosques, should be questioned and unmasked if they were found to be Saudi agents otherwise they should join the ranks of the Muslims.

Meanwhile, various personalities and groups in Kuwait contacted the IRNA office here expressing their hatred on the inhuman attitude of the Saudi officials towards Iranian Hajj pilgrims. They stressed the necessity of revealing this plot for the Islamic world.

A congregational prayers leader of one of Kuwait's mosques noted that Saudi Officials were scared of the slogans 'Down with the U.S. and the Zionist regime.'

He called on the Muslim ulama to make endeavors to further awaken vigilance of their people and reveal the true nature of pseudo-Muslim Saudi Officials.

Call for Administration of Holy Places in Saudi Arabia

The Lebanese Shi'ite Muslim Mufti, Sheikh Abdulmir Qabalan, condemned Saudi hindrances created in the way of Iranian Hajj pilgrims, and called for

the administration of holy places in Saudi Arabia by an association comprising world Muslim ulama.

Speaking to IRNA here, Sheikh Qabalan stressed that Saudi officials were scared of the ideologies of the Iranian Hajj pilgrims and did not want other pilgrims to be affected by the real wave of Islam.

Rather, he added, they preferred to keep Saudis and Muslims from other parts of the world in ignorance.

All the Muslims have the right to perform Hajj and during the course of these holy ceremonies they (Muslims) should inform each other about the enemies of Islam, said by United Arab Emirates (UAE) Minister of Islamic Affairs and Endowment Muhammad Abdel Ar-Rahman al Bakr during his talks with the Iranian Ambassador in Abu Dhabi Mahmud Madarshahi.

The Iranian envoy called on the UAE minister on Wednesday to discuss bilateral ties and the issues related to the plots of superpowers for the division of the Muslim ummah through their lackeys in the region.

Discussions in the meeting were also held on the hindrances created by the Saudis in the way of the Iranian pilgrims.



## KHATAMI DISCUSSES HAJJ PILGRIMAGE DURING FRIDAY SERMON

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 7 Aug 83 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN, Aug. 6 (IRNA) — The speaker before President Khomeini's sermons during this week's Friday prayers was Hojratolislam Mohammad Khatami, Minister of Ershad-e Islami (Islamic Guidance), who referred in his speech to the conflict between the Islamic Republic and world oppression and its agents in the region. He said that Saddam was the representative of a filthy clique in the world and our conflict with Saddam and his masters was not a short-term one. It was a fundamental conflict that we have with the global oppression and its lackeys in the region, he said.

The minister continued, saying that attempts have been made to impose upon humanity the idea that man war at the service of politics, while politics was at the service of material powers in the world. In our world, he continued, art was being used to destroy morality, and science which fostered industry and technology was used for bullying. Whenever a nation resisted to this domination, all the forces were mobilized against it. The Islamic Republic, said Hojratolislam Khatami, was an example of this encounter, since we had a doctrine and practices which were opposed to all these and we believed in God and religion. In this encounter, they attempted to

suppress religion or otherwise tried to distort it. The slogan of separation of religion from politics had stemmed from here, he stated.

The Islamic Guidance Minister then referred to the obstructions created by the Saudi regime for the dispatch of Iranian Hajj pilgrims to Mecca saying that what the Saudi regime was frightened of was that Muslims would protest against contemporary infidelity and atheism. Nowadays, he said, the world oppression quelled the movements of oppressed people by plundering natural resources such as oil and through these resources took advantage of the Muslims of the world. On the one hand, the oppressive power of the Soviet Union attacked Muslim people in Afghanistan. On the other hand, the world-devourers United States and Zionism occupied the first Qibla of the Muslims and tried to expand their ominous domination over all the region. How can Muslims keep quiet against all these crimes of the atheist forces?

It was very surprising, he said, to see that the reactionary Arab governments not only kept silent towards the brutal suppression of Muslims in Lebanon, but also at the same time, the freedom-loving Muslims, who acting in accord with injunctions of God and the holy Quran and protested against these crimes and injustices, were

attacked by Saudi regime's police.

Iranian pilgrims who were the representatives of the Muslim nation of Iran, were dastardly attacked by officers of the Saudi government for just sympathizing with the deprived masses in Palestine and Lebanon and for protesting and shouting "death to Israel".

The Saudi regime should know, stressed Hojratolislam Khatami, that Mecca was the proper place to protest against the enemies of God and this was a holy duty that Muslims should not ignore even for one moment.

He continued, "We will uproot the satanic policies on Mecca and Medina, because shouting death to the U.S. and Israel and superpowers will awaken Muslims of the world.

"We believe that those who cannot last one moment among their nation without dependency upon the United States have no right to determine God's policies. Islam and God made possible the gathering of such huge multitudes in Kaaba and we believe that the policies dominating over the holy shrines should be divine ones. We say that the center for protest and campaign against Israel should be formed in this very place".

In conclusion, the Ershad-e Islami minister assured that Iran would do its best to dispatch its pilgrims to Hajj.

EMIGRE PUBLICATION ON SILENCE OF ARMED FORCES

GF211943 Paris ARA in Persian 6 Aug 83 p 1

[Paris ARA in Persian; weekly published by Iranian dissidents]

[Excerpts] Months ago, when the Iran-Iraq war had reached a stage whereby the Iranian army expelled the enemy forces from a very important part of Iranian soil through its brave and manly efforts, factual military communiques were issued each day sincerely giving the reports and details of the victories of the Iranian army to the nation. The people in turn were very happy to see the brave army defending the holy homeland so zealously, and consider these victories their own. The interviews with the armed forces commanders [at the time], which even included their names and the location of their posts revealed further facts.

Has there been one interview or statement by even a junior officer about the many attacks of the recent months which have been named after all the real imams and may possibly bear such names as the Grand Idiot or the Great Shark and some such names shortly? Has anyone heard a military figure remark about the military techniques and the role of the army in the recent battles? Certainly not! Has any one of the military communiques which are now written in the words of the mullahs and in their style collaborated the claims made by the radio voice of mullahs? If, as the mullahs, claim, the high-flyers of the Air Force or the Army Air Corps or the braves of the Army and the Navy participated in the Val-Fajr, Muslim ibn Aqil, Shemr, Kholi Harmaleh, and so on, then why haven't their commanders talked about the bravery of their forces even once, and why has Rafsanjani been their sole spokesman? Why should he make their decisions for them and continue his tricks to deceive people?

The situation has reached disgraceful proportions. The more the armed forces become silent in this respect, the more vulgar the mullahs become and the more they assemble stories which have no result but a public smirk.

Aside from the stupid mullahs, it is interesting to note that the participants of the Friday shows in each town and village deliver speeches--in the manner of undefeated war leaders and legendary heroes--about the battles and tactics used, all attempting to take some credit for themselves and thus deceive the public and the youth. It is sad that at a time when the armed forces personnel, the brave men who in the holy profession of soldiers are committing sacrifices to maintain the security of our dear homeland, are forced to remain silent, and a bunch of loafers, corrupt, greedy individuals are speaking in their place and chanting for more opponents.

MISUSE OF POWER BY NEW GOVERNMENT ALLEGED

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 28 Jul 83 p 3

[Editorial: "Time to Act"]

[Text] A government can ruin a country overnight but not build it that fast. Miracles may happen but there is no magic wand with which the fate of a country can be changed. Logically enough then, the new government cannot be expected to cure all the maladies from which the country suffers. All that one can hope for now is the modest beginning with clear vision of how the complex economic problems inherited from the government that went out of power can be tackled gradually but steadily and with a firm sense of determination. People outside the government have already started grumbling against reported misuse of power by some ministers. This is an unfortunate development for the present government.

Further delay in making public its plans, programmes and priorities will cost the government dearly. The mere slogan that it is there for providing a clean and effective government may not help it for long. A change in the government calls for a change in the priorities and the pattern of operation which have not yet become visible. Instead it appears that the new government is more preoccupied with day-to-day administration in more or less the same pattern as in the past. Some of the measures which the government has taken are dubbed as ploys adopted to gain cheap popularity. The government should see that such things are not done in future in such a sloppy manner. Its style of operation and the manner it begins implementing some of its programmes should convince the people in general and the intellectuals in particular that it means to deliver the goods. The government should be able to do at least this much for the present.

CSO: 4600/836

POLITICAL DETAINEES' RELEASE WELCOMED

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 29 Jul 83 p 3

[Editorial: "Political Detainees"]

[Text] Though Amnesty International Report of 1982 said that almost all political detainees were released in Nepal by the end of 1981, the recent release of 32 political detainees and the subsequent statement by Prime Minister Chand that more would be released in future sufficiently indicate that there are more political detainees at different jails of the country than is generally assumed. People opposed to the government are many but they are functioning in a disorganised manner because they have not been able to take up the issues of the common masses and are bogged down in their own internal problems. It can be said that even in 1980 the opposition was not an organised one. It was more in the nature of a mob going amuck both in Kathmandu and at Hetauda. Teachers and students were the protagonists then and it was they who were held under detention in a large number.

The process thus started by the Prime Minister to release the political detainees deserves to be welcomed. If there is any threat to the stability of the Panchayat policy it is from within the Panchayat itself and thus the feeble voice from outside the Panchayat should cause no worry to supporters of the system. The Prime Minister should therefore publish the number and names of those who are still detained under the Security Act and release them as soon as possible. Such an act will be in conformity with the declared policy of the government that the Pancha can accommodate people with all shades of opinions. The government should also understand that mature voice of opposition can be of help to it to correct its policies and programmes. Opposition of this kind whether it comes from within or outside the system should be welcomed with a democratic spirit. Conservatism on such matters can lead an open society to nowhere.

CSO: 4600/836

PANCHAYAT DISCUSSES FOREIGN MINISTRY AFFAIRS

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 5 Aug 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] RP Finance Committee session Thursday started discussions concerning the appropriations for Foreign Ministry under the Appropriations Act 2040 B.S.

Eleven RP members took part in Thursday's discussions.

Sixty-three members had submitted their names for taking part in discussions on Foreign Ministry.

Those speaking at Thursday's discussions were Parasuram Rai (Khotang), Sridhar Shumsher Rana (Lalitpur), Narsingh Giri (Bajura), Karna Bahadur Singh (Dailekh), Drona Shumsher Rana (Rautahat), Nani Maiya Dahal (Kathmandu), Pema Tshering Gurung (Manang), Triveni Kurmi (Rupandehi), Sribhadra Sharma (Tanahu), Suraswoti Rai (Ilam) and Daman Dhoj Chand (Bardiya).

RP member Parashuram Rai of Khotang district initiating the discussions asked with how many countries Nepal has diplomatic ties and how many countries have supported the Zone of Peace proposal and how many more were likely to do so in near future.

Suggesting that the quota of the Gorkha Recruitment Centre should be increased as it was providing Nepalese people with livelihood, he said passport fee should be reduced from Rs. 200 to the old rate of Rs. 75 as the poor people going to the Gulf for employment could not pay much.

Calling for special concessions on goods brought in by Nepalese serving in armies abroad and coming home on leave, he also called for employment provisions for them after they return home with their pensions.

Sridhar Shumsher JBR of Lalitpur said the support extended by various countries to the Zone of Peace proposal has shown the desirability of the proposal adding that the Foreign Ministry and diplomatic missions abroad should play active roles in winning more support.

Stating that a committee should be formed to increase the allowances and facilities given to employees in Nepali embassies abroad, he said since almost 15



million rupees annually was paid in rent for the embassies the Foreign Ministry should start building our own embassy buildings.

Narsingh Giri of Bajura said Nepalese travelling through India were often looted, cheated or even killed and called for talks between officials of the two countries to prevent such happenings.

Calling for concrete action to win further support for the zone of peace proposal, he said Nepal's friendship with various countries and prestige had grown under the able leadership of His Majesty the King.

Karna Bahadur Singh of Dailekh called the attention of Foreign Ministry to whether it was proper or not that the policy of giving military help to India and Britain under the Seguli Treaty between Nepal, India and Britain was proper in today's context. He also called attention towards closing Gurkha recruitment centres.

However if people wanted to serve in foreign armies on their own there was no objection, he said.

Thursday's Finance Committee discussions were held under the chairmanship of committee chairman Bhagavati Das Shrestha.

The discussions are to resume 12 noon today (Friday).

CSO: 4600/836

## GENERATION CONFLICT IN CONGRESS DISCUSSED

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 28 Jul 83 p 3

[Text] Banned Nepali Congress that sees "civil war" being fought in the partyless Panchayat camp is itself plagued with struggle between the young Turks and the old guards on clear-cut policies and viable political programmes.

The young cadres of the outlawed party are known to have expressed dissatisfaction at the way limited role it is given to them.

Their demand is that representatives of the young cadres need exposure and should be given more priority in public meetings for it is they who will undertake the responsibility to champion the cause of their ideals in future.

Old guards such as Ganesh Man Singh, Krishna Prasad Bhattarai and Girija Prasad Koirala, it is said, are not ready to oblige them because they think that way the leadership may go to immature persons.

Outlawed Nepali Congress also faces another problem--how to make their opposition politics more determined and popular than the opposition move launched by the Panchas not in power.

To say that the Panchayat opposition move is motivated by the lust for power while that of the banned Nepali Congress is mainly triggered by the ideals of democracy and fundamental rights is not politically wise: for the Panchas' move in the name of the welfare of the people and that of the society is drawing more attention from the common man, observers say.

Some supporters of this political organisation think that there could be no negotiations between the so-called democrats and the Panchayat no matter how democratic reforms the latter promises in the present third amendment or in some other future amendments.

Others are found to be of opinion that entry into panchayat with no commitment to the ideals of the partyless system should not be checked for it would be easier to democratise or in the words of some political pundits "congressise" the panchayat system and "parliamentise" the Rastriya Panchayat.

With Girija preparing to come back home after some political exercise abroad in cooperation with the Socialist International and late B. P.'s political

friends, the so-called democrats are being watched from outside whether they would be able to find a way out of the impasse created by the political thinking of the young Turks and the old guards.

Ganesh Man Singh at a recent mass meeting had to refer to the struggle ten times, though indirectly, while naming himself and his colleagues as "men with no teeth because of old age" and the young as "Hot blood of Nepal Students Organisation."

CSO: 4600/836

# NEPAL'S ROLE IN INDIA-BANGLADESH WATER DISPUTE CLARIFIED

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 29 Jul 83 p 7

[From the "Worldview" column by MRJ: "Ganging Up!"]

[Text]

Developing strains in Indo-Bangla relations need not have merited scrutiny in this column. But, since this country has been dragged into the picture for no good reason, a critical review of some press outpourings on the topic might be in order.

(These strains have apparently only been partly neutralised by the ad-hoc agreement on the sharing of the waters of the Teesta and the supposed "break-through" on the Ganga waters issue at the Dhaka meeting earlier this month. While a UNI report stated that "the nine month deadlock on augmenting the Ganga flow was broken with the two countries agreeing to discuss their proposals 'within the scope of bilateralism', a PFI report stated that Indian Irrigation Minister R.N. Mirdha not only "made no mention of any new proposal to share the Ganga waters between the two countries" but also that "the joint press release issued after the Dhaka talks made no mention of Mr Mirdha's new proposal.")

In this connection, immediate attention might be drawn to a very prominently displayed Calcutta date-lined report in the 14th July '83 issue of *The Hindustan Times* by Apratim Mukherjee. In it, Mukherjee quotes unidentified diplomatic sources in Calcutta to build his case that Dhaka is plotting the creation of an anti-Indian bloc including Nepal and Bhutan who have been told to woo China. Referring to Shamsul-Doha's visit to Bhutan (interestingly, the Bangladesh Foreign Minister is constantly referred to as Foreign Secretary), Mukherjee says: "As Nepal was advised before, so was Bhutan told this time that it had become absolutely essential for the smaller nations in the sub-continent to maintain a merely 'formal' relationship with New Delhi and, at the same time, to cultivate warmer relations with Beijing...It was only with Beijing's support that the smaller nations could keep themselves free from the political, economic and

military pressures put on them by India. Bhutan was also advised that it had better heed Bangladesh's advice so that it did not become eventually a victim of Indian 'hegemonism' like Sikkim."

Turning to the Ganga waters sharing dispute between his country and Bangladesh, Mukherjee then charges that "understandably enough", Nepal has "seized upon the chance offered by Dhaka to meddle in the troubled waters of subcontinental politics and...assured Bangladesh of its support on the issue. He then sweepingly concludes: "Bhutan and Nepal are all in close proximity to China and Bangladesh's move to build up a common front inimical to India obviously suits the Communist intent." In my view, it is significant that such inspired reports are being aired not just shortly before the South Asian Foreign Ministers' Meet but indeed not very long after Nepal and Bhutan have entered into formal diplomatic relations - a fact

that, oddly enough, is missing in Mukherjee's brazen attempt to rejuvenate the moribund smaller-neighbours-ganging-up-against-India theory.

*The Hindustan Times* correspondent doesn't however notice the absurdity of Bangladesh advising Nepal to have good relations with China: apart from the fact that Nepal and China share a common border - which Bangladesh does not - historically, too, relations between Nepal and China have been much more extensive than that between China and Bangladesh, not to mention that long before Bangladesh was born, Sino-Nepalese relations were very well established!

Let us now come back to the Ganga water sharing issue which is plainly putting a spanner in the Indo-Bangla works. As much would seem to be clear from the much publicised recent Dhaka seminar entitled "Curse of Farakka and Ganga-Brahmaputra link canal" - where the Bangla leader Lt Gen H.M. Ershad charged that India was starving Bangladesh of Ganga waters. To recall: while this charge was strongly and immediately refuted in a statement issued by India's Foreign Office, matters were further clarified in angry comments that it sparked in the Indian press. Thus, *The Times of India* had in an editorial entitled *A Worried General*

then acknowledged that "New Delhi is legitimately disturbed over Lt Gen H.M. Ershad's reported comment that his country is not receiving its 'rightful share' of Ganga waters" but went on to say that "New Delhi would do well to read the development in the light of a military ruler's domestic difficulty." In a remarkably similar vein, *The Statesman's* editorial entitled *Substitute For Democracy* intoned: "It is not unreasonable to suppose that the exercise is in some way related to General Ershad's efforts to distract attention from the domestic problems that erupted in violence not long ago... The Farakka issue is General Ershad's substitute for democracy."

Whatever the motivations or causes, difficulties on the Ganga waters question between Dhaka and Delhi have clearly cropped up. But, whatever the reasons for such a slide in Indo-Bangla relations, Nepal is regrettably once more being sucked into the whirlpool of the Ganga waters dispute as has happened so often in the past. All this, mind you, in spite of Kathmandu's well-known and sensible stand, that, unless approached by both New Delhi and Dhaka, she will not consider any proposal involving her on this issue. Yet the decision at the end of 1982 of the Bangla-India Joint Rivers Commission's Committee of

Experts to consider - among other things - the Bangla proposal to build twelve large dams in the Himalayas - most of them in Nepal but a few in India as well - to store water which may be used to augment the flow of the Ganga during the lean season has obviously added a new dimension to the question. For, with it, New Delhi has *ipso facto* accepted to examine a proposal that brings Nepal into the Ganga waters picture, irrespective of whether or not the Committee finds it to be unviable at a later date. So, the message behind pointing an accusing finger at Nepal in this regard as *The Hindustan Times* correspondent unfairly does simply will not wash. It, however, only tends to raise suspicions that his "scoop" is intended primarily for other reasons: perhaps to prevent this and other contentious issues being raised at the Delhi meet of South Asian Foreign Ministers.

But although Nepal has been sharply rapped on her knuckles, yet in many respects what is the most striking feature of *The Hindustan Times* story is the strong exception taken against Bhutan - a country that has been conspicuous for, among other things, the relatively soft treatment it usually receives at the hands of the Indian press. Though this change may indeed have been sparked off by unhappiness over Kathmandu and Thimpu establishing formal diplo-



matic ties, it could also be that the pace and scope of the overall development of Bhutan's relations with Bangladesh, too, is viewed in some quarters with suspicion, specially in view of the deterioration in Bangla-India ties.

Revealingly, according to S Kamaluddin of *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, Bangladesh and the Himalayan Kingdom are trying to develop closer trade relations by establishing surface links by rail and river. But, though they have signed five year trade and transit agreements in 1980, "the trade corridor has yet to be opened because of a delay in the signing of an agreement between Bhutan and India to provide necessary facilities." According to the same source: "The Indians have agreed in principle to provide Bhutan with one rail and one river route for trading with Bangladesh, and an agreement is likely to be finalised soon...Goods bound for Bhutan could be taken by rail to close to the Bhutanese border and transshipped through a well developed road network into any part of the kingdom. River-borne goods could travel via

Bhutan's Sankosh River to link up with the Brahmaputra, and thence to the Bangladeshi ports of Chalna and Chittagong. Again, work will be needed to allow this route to be used." (see map)

Referring to the Bhutanese ambassador in Dhaka's recent address to a seminar on transit trade in Chittagong stating that "the frontiers of many developing countries represent major obstacles to their landlocked neighbours," Kamaluddin suggests that the proposed seven-nation South Asian forum that is likely to be launched soon "may be in a position to give help in this regard to its two landlocked neighbours, Nepal and Bhutan."

That, of course, remains to be seen. However, as of the present, it can be said that if *The Hindustan Times* "scoop" is at all reflective of general Indian public opinion, the future of South Asian cooperation in general - but more specially that between Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan - is bleak indeed. After all, a brave new world of South Asian Cooperation can hardly be structured on a foundation of suspicions and attitudes belonging correctly to the stone age!

PROTECTION FOR INDUSTRIES PROMISED

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 4 Aug 83 pp 1, 6

[Text] Minister for Industry and Commerce Marayan Dutta Bhatta has said that His Majesty's Government will not lag behind in safeguarding local industries from the competition of foreign industries.

Speaking at a reception organised by the welfare and security committee of the Patan Industrial Estate Tuesday, Minister Bhatta warned however that monopoly would not be permitted to safeguard industries.

Noting that management plays a vital role in the development of industries in the country, the minister said that His Majesty's Government would continue to make the management more scientific through laws and regulations.

On the occasion the Assistant Minister for Industry and Commerce Mukunda Bahadur Basnet said that cooperation of all the experienced industrialists was necessary to identify and solve industrial problems for industrialisation of the country.

Chairman of the welfare and security committee Nagendra Thapa said that the Finance Ministry had sanctioned 2.7 million rupees for expansion of the industrial estate and to purchase about twenty-five ropanis of land to accommodate five to six industries.

He expressed the confidence that the additional industries will be run and a showroom built within this year.

CSO: 4600/836

## PERMITS FOR MIGRANT WORKERS POSSIBLE

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 29 Jul 83 p 10

[Article by Jan Shama]

[Text] DETERIORATING economic conditions compounded by rapid population growth, may soon force Nepal to introduce work permits for migrant workers despite threats of retaliation from across the border.

Recent reports suggest massive migration from India, which has already made the adjoining *terai* (plains) districts overcrowded. The Indian migrants have also penetrated deep inside the hills in northern Nepal bordering China.

Some of these migrants settled down permanently; others are seasonal labourers engaged in skilled and semi-skilled jobs like electricians, plumbers, painters as well as fruit and vegetable vendors.

Migration from countries other than India is limited. There are some Americans and Europeans in Kathmandu who run Nepal's tourist agencies. They occupy positions where there are few or no Nepalese competent for the job. But the main threat has come from the Indian migrants.

### Popular

The growing visibility of Indians in Kathman-

du and other cities in the *terai* and the hills has evoked widespread concern. A stagnant economy plus worsening unemployment is largely blamed on the mass entry of Indian workers to Nepal.

To many Indians, Kathmandu is virtually a virgin territory. Indian migrants are not only limited to vegetable and fruit vendors and small retail shops but the country's industry and business are virtually under their control.

There has also been growing concern in recent years that the national economy would soon be taken over by the Indian business community.

There has not been any reliable and authentic data on the number of both seasonal and permanent migrants from India and the job opportunities available for them in Nepal.

An Indian government report puts the number of Indian migrant workers in Nepal at a high 3.8 million. A private Nepalese welfare agency, however, puts the figure to a staggering 5.3 million.

Nepal and India share 1,300 kilometres of open border requiring neither

passport nor visa for crossing. The open border, inept law enforcement and the ease with which Nepalese citizenship certificates are available mean that nearly two million Indians have become Nepalese citizens, Nepalese demographers say.

"In a few years time, Nepalese will all be living in India and Nepal will be full of Indians," runs a popular joke that is taking rounds in Kathmandu these days. Government officials here are now taking the joke rather seriously.

But an Indian Embassy official here dismisses the whole issue as "propaganda." He said: "Certain lobbies in Nepal which felt threatened by increasing understanding at all levels between India and Nepal are trying to deliberately build up a campaign through the Press and otherwise on what is recognised by all well-informed people as a non-issue, and without any basis."

Nepalese development planners, on the other hand, complain that the mass influx has neutralised the gains made in the basic economic infrastructure for development. But more important perhaps, it has

adversely affected the country's population programme.

Dr Harkha Gurung, an eminent demographer, said: "We have excellent friendly relations with India. But that does not mean that we can close our eyes to the influx of Indian migrant workers who have deprived job opportunities to hundreds of Nepalese. The issue is rather serious."

Dr Gurung, who headed the powerful National Planning Commission during Nepal's turbulent economic and financial periods, is now working on a report on the nature, magnitude and causes of internal as well as external migration and their consequent impact on the national economy.

"I feel rather strongly for the introduction of work permits for migrant workers," said Dr Gurung. "How it would be done is a premature question as the study is not yet complete." Data have already been collected and compiled and the final report, along with the recommendations, is expected next month.

Dr Gurung feels that once work permits are introduced, the Nepalese who migrate annually in

search of jobs in neighbouring India would be trained in the vocations and skills that at present are dominated by Indian migrant workers.

The government did introduce some measure so that the skilled and semi-skilled jobs could be allocated to the Nepalese. Employment exchange bureaus were set up all over the country. But they could not make any visible improvement in the situation because they were implemented halfheartedly, said Dr Gurung.

Mr Kul Sekhar Sharma, the vice-chairman of the National Population Commission, said that the increase in the population is more than what was estimated for the Sixth Plan (1980-85) because of the mass Indian influx.

As for the introduction of the work and entry permits, Mr Sharma is cautious and restrained: "We would take appropriate policy measures after a careful consideration of the findings of the migration committee headed by Dr Gurung," he said.

### Compulsory

Nepal's National Planning Commission had recommended in 1974 that work permits be issued for migrant workers. "Being situated be-

tween two of the most populous countries of the world, Nepal should be justified in introducing work permits and identification cards for all foreigners," the commission recommended.

It also recommended that provision for entry permits be made compulsory for all foreigners who do not require passports for entering Nepal at present. This provision, it said, should also be applied to foreigners who have been staying in Nepal, including Tibetans.

Most Bihari Muslim refugees, who entered Nepal after the outbreak of the 1971 War of Independence of Bangladesh, have left but some remain here.

Nepal was then reluctant to implement the recommendations because of threats of retaliation from India. Even as the recommendations were being suggested, the Indian government retaliated by imposing restrictions on the movement of Nepalese citizens in Darchula in far western Nepal and the Darjeeling area in India in 1976.

"We cannot go on sitting on this serious problem. Some decisions would have to be taken before too late," Dr Gurung stressed. — Depthnews Asia

PRESERVING ECOLOGICAL BALANCE TERMED IMPERATIVE

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 31 Jul 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Growing Popularity"]

[Text] A recent announcement by the Ministry of Tourism that it has permitted a total of 54 foreign expedition teams to scale as many as 39 different Himalayan peaks in the Kingdom, brings to the fore the fact that the snow clad mountains of Nepal continue to gain growing popularity among the mountaineers the world over. As many as three expeditions have been permitted to the world's highest mountains, the 8,848 metre high Mount Sagarmatha. What has contributed to this ever growing popularity of these mountains? As a spokesman of the Ministry put it one of the reasons was that the mountains were now getting more and more publicity abroad. Experiences in the past have shown that expeditions, specially to the Sagarmatha, bring with them television crew and other media personnel who transmit and broadcast in their respective countries the entire operation of the expedition in the mountain. This apart, the success or otherwise of each of the expeditions is widely covered by both the national and international media. This has to some extent helped expose the beautiful and challenging Himalayas to the rest of the world. But this alone does not suffice to give adequate publicity to the mountains abroad. Hence the need for launching an extensive programme to publicise the glorious peaks, and other touristic spots of the country. Therefore, posters, pamphlets and other publicity materials could be displayed at the Royal Nepalese Missions abroad and an information desk be set up at those missions to provide adequate information about Nepal in those countries. In those countries where there is no residential Nepalese mission, such arrangements could be made with travel agencies and airlines offices on reciprocal basis. This would help expose Nepal to the rest of the world better than at present and would invite more and more tourists to this country.

While adequate publicity of the mountains to attract more and more tourists to Nepal is necessary, it must be ensured that places of touristic values are well preserved and maintained at home. One of the great dangers to mountains now is one of ecological imbalance. With the increasing number of mountaineering expeditions to different peaks every year, Nepalese mountains are turning into virtual dumping grounds. They are slowly losing the ecological balance. Therefore, adequate measures must be taken in time to keep these mountains clean and maintain their ecology. Although, the Ministry of Tourism takes an undertaking from expeditions to the effect that they would clean up the



mountain on completion of the expedition, a mechanism must be developed to ensure that the no expedition betrays the understanding. If this is not done the mountains will cease to be the source of foreign exchange earning for the country and a day would come when the mountains will no more attract any mountaineer.

CSO: 4600/836

## SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY REPORTS SUBMITTED

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 3 Aug 83 pp 1, 6

[Text] Two of the twenty-three working groups constituted by the Royal Nepal Academy of Science and Technology have submitted reports on their respective fields of study, it is learnt.

The working group on "Earth Sciences," with Mr Jhumar Mal Tater as its coordinator, has recommended to the Academy to plan and undertake various projects such as setting up of a national hydraulic laboratory, working on a national climatological map, promotional work on the manufacture of birquettes, interdisciplinary projects like tunnel technology for the development of mining, transportation networks, irrigation and hydro-power and schemes to offer on-the-job training for final year University students and to exchange visiting professors to organise special lectures.

On tunnel technology, the working group is learnt to have pointed out that Nepal has almost everything necessary to undertake such a project and recommend to the Academy to offer promotional supports.

It has also been suggested that the Academy should look into fields like geochronology, granite and other intrusives of economic values, geophysical and geochemical methods of exploration, quaternary geology and paleogeography.

Likewise, another working group on "Construction and Building Materials," with Dr. Prakash Bir Singh Tuladhar as its coordinator, has recommended that a regional centre for the development of traditional technologies in the production and application of locally available building materials be set up by the Academy on its own, it is further learnt. The group has also stressed the setting up of a regional centre for housing development.

The group has emphasised that the Academy should start such centres right away in the five development regions and throughout the seventy-five districts in the near future.

The group further suggested that the Academy should play a leading role in survey, classification, evaluation and development of local building materials and construction techniques which would lessen trade imbalances due to the huge import of conventional materials.

The group is also learnt to have identified a number of areas for research and development on a priority basis, including natural stones, binding materials (cement and cement substitutes), ceramic construction materials and glass, bamboo, timber, soil, and brick and tiles.

The Academy, meanwhile, is said to be considering the recommendations and suggestions of the reports in a bid to come up with suitable plans and programmes to meet national needs.

CSO: 4600/836

## BRIEFS

TWO NEW VARIETIES OF WHEAT--The department of Agriculture has developed two new varieties of wheat and recommended them for cultivation. One variety, named "Binayak," can be cultivated throughout the Terai while the other, "Siddhartha," has been recommended for three districts. Apart from being immune to rust the Binayak variety will grow well though it is sown late. According to Dr. Prakiti Shumsher Rana, head of the national wheat crop development programme, production of Binayak variety is at 3 to 3.5 metric ton per hectare on average. The production capacity of R.R. 21, the most popular variety at present, is 2.5 metric ton per hectare. The Binayak wheat seed will be distributed to the farmers extensively this year. Likewise, the Siddhartha variety wheat has been recommended for Nawalparasi, Kapilvastu and Rupendehi districts. Production of the variety is 3 metric ton per hectare on average. The wheats were developed after experiments at different agriculture farms and centres of the Kingdom over the past five years, the agriculture information branch said. [Text] [Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 1 Aug 83 p 3]

CSO: 4600/836

## STRIFE BETWEEN TAMIL, SINHALA GROUPS EXAMINED

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 3 Aug 83 p 17

[Article by Denzil Peiris]

[Text] Communal strife between Sri Lanka's Tamil minority and the Sinhala dominant group is reaching a new pitch of violence as the discontented youth in the north of the island take the law into their own hands. The violence is a result of unequal development of communities in an underdeveloped nation.

TWO Tamil youths in Jaffna Province in Sri Lanka gun down their victims on busy streets, then cycle away. After the assassination in April of two local election candidates of the ruling United National Party, the gunmen rode to a nearby village to tell the people there that some of those at the spot had been wounded: an ambulance should be called to get them to a hospital.

This is now a habitual pattern of violence in this Tamil-speaking region where members of the Tiger Liberation Movement believe Eelam, a separate state for the multiracial nation's biggest minority, can come only from the barrel of a gun. So far, none of the witnesses to the killings — not even the villagers to whom the youths had spoken — will give the police or the army a description of the killers. A bland "we don't know who they are; we can't remember what they looked like" is the only response.

"This is a country notorious for the anonymous letter," a security official

gaid. "Yet, in all these years of terrorism in the north, we have not got a single tip-off." An army officer in Jaffna made the same point, using the same words.

The guerillas are operating in what Mao Zedong thought was ideal for such movements — like fish in friendly waters.

There is more than the fear of reprisals on informers for the lack of names to the faces of the killer. The superficial explanation for this conspiracy of silence is that policing has broken down in the whole of the north. Fearful of being gunned down, the police will not move to investigate even petty crime or road accidents. The army will not go to their help until it has made sure it has not been set up for an ambush. Licence fees for radios, bicycles and cars are not paid, traffic jams in Jaffna without police direction. With this evidence of insecurity, who would dare to tell on the guerillas?

Instead, civilians see the guerillas as their protectors against the un-

ruly. When civil strife broke out in Jaffna between Muslims and Hindus, the two groups were warned by the guerillas to live in harmony or else. Guerillas have shot thugs and other malefactors who harass citizens. The deeper reason people withhold information on the guerillas is that the "terrorists" are seen by the Tamils as vindicating national pride in a humiliating "military occupation."

This is not a gung-ho army, however. The military has advised the government that a political question needs a political solution. Military sources in Jaffna estimate the number of Tigers (Tamil guerillas) at about 200, with a hard core of about 60. Unlike the Sinhalese insurrection of the Janata Vimukti Peramunu (JVP) People's Liberation Front in 1971, the Tigers are not providing cannon fodder by operating in large bands. They work in teams of two at most, killing and then melting away in the civilian population. Stepped-up military activity, in these cir-

cumstances, will be ineffective.

### Piqued

The guerillas also escape in fishing boats across the narrow Palk Straits to southern India. There, the government and the opposition have made support for the Sri Lankan Tamils a party issue. Relations between Sri Lanka and India are consequently sore. The beleaguered Mrs Indira Gandhi, challenged both by threats to her own power and the fragmentation of India into regional and linguistic states, is not intervening on behalf of the Sri Lankan government.

According to a Sri Lanka Tamil United Liberation Front politician who met Mrs Gandhi, she is piqued over President Junius Jayewardene's pro-Western policies.

The pattern of Tiger violence has widened, from killing police and soldiers to the assassination of collaborators with the UNP. In the run-up to the May local elections, they assassinated two UNP candidates, scaring other



members into withdrawing from the polls. TULF candidates who were threatened said they would not stand for elections. An embarrassed party leadership had to persuade its nominees to change their decision. Voter-turnout in the elections was only 25 per cent; in one constituency only one per cent and in another per cent per cent. Two guerrillas with a gun may not win Eelam, but they have the power now to veto the whole democratic process. Indeed, the Sinhalese-Tamil debate in the north is turning into a dialogue with death. TULF politicians who cannot deliver a solution through negotiation are becoming irrelevant in the north.

The roots of the tension between Sinhalese and Tamils go back to decisions taken after 1956 to redress an imbalance which, under colonial rule, had made the Sinhalese (now 72 per cent of the 15 million population) an economic and culturally deprived majority, while the Tamil elites (currently 11.2 per cent) had a disproportionately large share of jobs in the public services. Sinhala was made the official language, severely restricting employment opportunities for Tamils. In Sri Lanka's stagnant economy, the public sector — white collar jobs — is the only remunerative area open to the middle class. However, the Bandaranaike policy for depriving the Tamil Peter to give jobs to the Sinhala Paul did not entirely solve Sinhalese unemployment. In 1971, the JVP, representing Sinhala unemployed youth in an economy that was on the skids, rose in rebellion against the failure of the government to satisfy their expectations.

After breakdowns in 25 years of negotiation over forms of regional autonomy, the frustrated Tamils have escalated their demand to Eelam, a separate Tamil state. This, for the Sinhalese, is

an impossible concession. Eelam, as the Tamil demarcate it, would encroach on what the Sinhalese see as their territory.

They also fear Eelam would be linked with South India's Tamils, the historic enemy, who until late in the 12th century, had invaded the island and destroyed its irrigation system and ancient capitals.

Partition of the country would lead to renewed and predictably more savage violence against the 1.5 million Tamils who live and work in Sinhalese areas. The Sinhala politician must also take note of his community's fear that a settlement may take away the slender gains of 1956. A further complication is that the Muslims who live in the Eastern Province claimed for Eelam, do not wish to go under Hindu Tamil rule.

Communal strife in Sri Lanka, like tensions between linguistic groups and tribes in the rest of the Third World, is a product of unequal development of communities in an underdeveloped nation.

President Jayewardene, who had himself exercised *satyagraha*, (civil disobedience) against a Bandaranaike plan which he argued would partition the country, has devised a scheme which steers between the Sinhala determination for a unitary state and the Tamil desire for partition. It is a microcosm of the executive president-cum-parliamentary system devised for his central government by Professor A.J. Wilson, a Tamil, now in Canada with the University of British Columbia. Prof. Wilson is one of Mr Jayewardene's most influential consultants on the communal problem.

The merit of the plan is that it is not exclusively designed for the north, but is part of a nationwide scheme for decentralisation of development and

administration. Consequently, it dodges the charge of appeasing the Tamils and of fragmenting the nation.

Mr Jayewardene told South that the Tamil-speaking areas, like the rest of the country, would have elected district development councils, with an executive district minister (analogous to the executive president) appointed by him. Finance would be provided from the centre, and augmented by revenues raised locally. Mr Jayewardene claimed he won over Buddhist monks, the most obstreperous critics of settlements they could call a sell-out to the Tamils. He told a delegation that in the ultimate event, "my hand reaches out to the development councils through my nominee, the district minister."

## Sceptical

The President also plans to give the Tamil-speaking areas US\$500 million for irrigation facilities, roads and other infrastructure projects. This would certainly take some of the strains off the problem by providing white collar and technical jobs for unemployed Tamil youths.

Some TULF politicians see hope in the plan. In endorsing the Jayewardene plan, they are aware it is also their own hope of political survival. If Eelam comes, it can only come through the barrel of a gun. The Tigers who pulled the trigger will not give up power. These TULF leaders want immediate evidence that the money is coming and the administrative adjustments necessary to make the development councils work are being made. But here is the rub. Bureaucrats who fear that administrative decentralisation would whittle down their own power at the centre are dragging their feet.

However, the president's plan is the only viable solution on the table. The radical JVP, which

campaigns in 1971 against the Tamils, now concedes the Tamil's right to self-determination, but would like Eelam to come only after negotiations with them. The Tamils are sceptical; most see it as a political gambit, although some leftists among them, may be tempted to an alliance with the left-oriented JVP.

There is a lack of a sense of urgency in the capital, Colombo. Jaffna is too far to impinge on the daily preoccupations of the Sinhalese; it is argued that the Tamils will tire of the guerrillas who are presumed to be disrupting life in Jaffna. But apart from occasional harassment by police and sporadic retaliatory outbursts by soldiers, economic life in the north goes on as usual. The danger in the communal situation is that as more bodies of soldiers and police killed by guerrillas are returned to their villages, infuriated Sinhalese may turn on the Tamils in areas of mixed population. The mid-June blowing up of Tamil shops in Trincomalee and attacks on houses in other areas of ethnic mix are symptoms of growing Sinhalese anger.

Eelam could get snared in Indian Ocean politics. The United States, China and India are speaking to both sides in the hope of a peaceful solution.

India, certainly, cannot complacently permit a fragmented Sri Lanka in which an economically unviable Eelam would have to come to an arrangement with an external power. The thought of a superpower presence in Trincomalee, the former headquarters of the British East Indies Squadron, dominating the western and eastern approaches of the Indian Ocean, would send shivers down the spines of strategists in New Delhi. — South/Third World Media

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